2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

582 [538] Another factor entering into the choice of a bride is expressed in the proverb, 'Have the girl from a far-away place; have the cow from a nearby place.'[7] It is generally felt that a woman from a distant village who is a classificatory cross-cousin will make the best of wives, for she will not take too many liberties with affines who are not previously well-known to her, and at the same time she will be unable to run home to her parents too often; in short, she is likely to remain in the marital home and work adequately there. An example of an ideal marriage with a classificatory father's sister's daughter is to be seen in Diagram 9 (p. 179) (the man marked X). The principle of 'equivalence' of brothers in this kinship table makes X's wife a cross-cousin to him.

● 565 [121] In Chapter 10 we will discuss the manner in which the modern Badaga community is becoming a class society. We should nonetheless note here that already by the nineteenth century a class of 'gentry' had arisen in each village. This is the term I have chosen for the families descended from the village founders and including all of the headman. As will be seen, these people had higher social status than others and a peculiar status in Badaga law, to be explored in Chapter 8.

128 The marriage system which now links the forty-four Badaga clans into ten phratries is a very complex one and calls for a clarifying diagram to accompany the following pages of description. Each circle in Diagram 7 represents one clan, and the intervening lines link clans which customarily intermarry. Clans have been grouped into phratries. The dotted lines mark irregular but acceptable patterns of marriage. The subcultural divisions between Lingayats and other Shaivites, between Christians and Shaivites, and between vegetarians and meat-eaters, have also been indicated.

WODEAS

615 [162] The majority of Badagas rank Wodeas as the highest phratry in the community.[8] They occupy twelve villages scattered across the plateau, some very close to the villages of lower phratries. Their villages are not all exogamous. There are perhaps four thousand Wodeas, distributed among three unnamed clans, or six septs. These septs, with their variant names, are as follows:

615 614 612 Clan I: Ṣu:riya and Selandi (or Sedili) septs;

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

177 report of wife exchange between Todas and Mudugas has not been substantiated by recent investigation; see von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1954, *passim*.

000 12. Grigg, 1880, 212; compare Metz, 1864, 123, 'Rifle', 1872, 32; Stokes 1883a, 6. They were from one particular clan nicknamed 'Kurumba-cut-people'.

177 13. Francis, 1908, 272; Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 115; Shaposhnikova, 1969, ch. 22; at present only two Badagas rent land from Todas.

177 614 14. Those of the high-status Ha:ruva and Lingayat clans eat only the milk products, not cooked food, if they visit Todas. For an instance of a Toda priest putting butter on the Badaga ceremonial spear, see Emeneau, 1971, 5, 744.

● 565 622 15. There is a kind of upper class among Badagas, which I call the gentry: families claiming direct descent from the founder of their village. It is from these families that the headmen usually come; see above, Diagram 6.

000 16. The fact that Badagas and anthropologists may go right up to the *ti:* enclosure while Todas stay a hundred meters away perhaps led Rivers to presume his Badaga guide for the day had a special relationship with the *paloł*!

439 778 17. The sanctity of milk from sacred buffaloes has been lost once it is made into clarified butter, and this can be sold; Emeneau, 1938, 104, 112.

18. Rivers, 1906, 103. A less reliable source claims the *paloł's* cloth was woven by the Toreas of Jakkane:ri; near Kotagiri; see Macleane, 1893, 905.

000 19. *U:r Kuruba;* Breeks, 1873, 53-54. The common spelling *Kurumba* comes from Tamil.

186 20. No Kurumba is allowed in a Lingayat house, as he is believed capable of polluting it. Other phratries allow him as far as the outer room and consider him less polluting than a Kota.

000 21. Harkness, 1832, 84-85; Metz, 1864, 116-117; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86, and 1912, 232-233; 'Miles,' 1951, 71. Fifty years ago an up-to-date old lady was 'experimenting with flying'.

22. Badagas assert it would be unethical or liable to bring misfortune were Kurumbas and Kotas allowed to play music together on the same occasion.

177 621 23. Metz, 1864, 116; Thurston, however, stated this to be the *annual* tax paid by each Badaga family; see Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86-87. According to Kotas it should be 'four annas and a meal paid by each house'; Emeneau, 1946, 257.

24. Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Harkness, 1832, 109; Metz, 1864, 116. Around Kotagiri each family gave their Kurumba 18 litres; compare Harkness, 1832, 135, note. Elsewhere he was thought to get about one-sixtieth of the harvest; Harkness, 1832, 57. Earlier his share was put at 15-37 litres per farmer, plus 'as many of the sheaves as he can well bear away on his shoulders'; Ward, 1821, lxxvi. The Kurumbas accepted cooked food from Badagas, uncooked food from Todas, but none from Kotas; Macleane, 1893, 222.

795 25. Though the Badagas are Shaivites there are also Vaishnavite temples in some villages, managed by Shaivite priests.

595 583 26. Marriage, which is rarely polygynous, involves payment of a bridewealth of a hundred rupees, refundable upon divorce; for an instance of marriage between So:lu:r and the Wainad Gaudas, see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

586 27. Ranga, 1934, 55-59; Noble, 1968, 174-175. This relationship was ended by Government action in 1976.

648 657 28. Moses, 1964, 10; Srinivas, 1965, 20-22; *paṇya* is also a section of the Yerava tribe in Coorg.

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[p. 134 is blank]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

a large landowner this latter system was quite efficient and profitable, even though he had to feed those who were working in his fields and was also obliged to give them a big feast on the last day of their field-work *(kambuwa)* which enhanced social solidarity. These two techniques of co-operative labour also benefitted the landless, for they could thereby share in the harvest of someone else or at least be more regularly fed.

In the early decades of this century immigrant Kanarese and Tamilians, some of them the creditors of Badaga farmers, began to buy up former Badaga land and farm it with the help of labourers, both poor Badagas and immigrants. It was probably this trend which led those who worked on Badaga farms to expect payment in cash rather than a share of the harvest or a mutual exchange of labour. Those patterns of co-operation have passed away. The educated would now rather remain unemployed than work in a neighbour's field, and with the transition to cash-crop farming most feel it is not worth helping someone else reap his profit. Things were different when co-operative farming helped put food into the village's granary baskets.

Among rural Badagas the old order has not been replaced by a class society. We can only identify a land-owning class, a tenant class and a labouring class in the larger rural society which embraces other communities as well. The land-owners who are Badagas generally prefer Tamilian or Kanarese tenants, as it is easier to lay down stiff terms for rental and to become stern when such non-Badagas fail to pay the rent after an unsuccessful season. Badaga tenants have too many ways of pressuring their landlord into overlooking their inability to pay rent on time. The agricultural labourers are normally lowland immigrants, too. It is considered somewhat demeaning for Badagas to take on such work, especially under a Badaga proprietor. Social classes are thus not yet to be found among Badaga villagers, and the three main social categories in farming are seen by Badagas as occupational and caste differences.

The present range of occupations of both Badagas and other rural communities is suggested by Table 3, derived from a rough sample of adolescent and adult males aged 15 to 85. Clearly farm work is still the most prevalent activity, but now a substantial proportion of men in the rural population are working in occupations (categories V to IX) that typify participation in a monetary economy.[27]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

for a progressive, educated groom is like purchasing security for one's daughter.

No longer are the wealthiest families members of the gentry. The latter have recently been supplanted by *parvenus* with the ability to wield more influence and political power. These *nouveaux riches*, contractors, businessmen, dealers in illicit liquor[5] and plantation owners, have wherever possible reinvested their earnings in tea or coffee estates and private bus lines. Occasionally, too, this new-found capital has been invested in Badaga-owned businesses in the towns. Another popular type of investment is in sending sons to college, which can bring prestige to a family in a short space of time. Men who obtain degrees in law or medicine are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, where they usually practise, but those who manage only a B.A. or B.Sc. find it brings some prestige but rarely a well-paying job. Nevertheless, upwardly mobile families wish their sons to take a bachelor's degree and then to settle down in their home villages and farm the land.

Among those wealthy enough to expect or to pay a substantial gift at marriage, fulfilment of their traditional roles in the society can become a problem-laden, anachronistic burden. Such men may command annual incomes a hundred times greater than the average for other men in their home village. As a consequence of this newly apparent inequality the wealthy are constantly plagued by importunate villagers and distant relations, as well as Toda and Kota friends, who try to activate traditional bonds of kinship or friendship so as to grasp their share in the power and influence of the *nouveaux riches*. It is therefore not surprising that the wealthiest Badagas have tended to leave their natal villages and build themselves comfortable houses in a town or in the middle of their tea estates. As the wealth of these families grows and as the possibility of their upward mobility, as modern Indian families rather than Badaga villagers, becomes a reality, their attitudes towards the traditional society and its marriage regulations change. No longer are the requirements of their old culture so demanding or so relevant, for these people are now oriented towards a larger South Indian society whose aims and ideals are for them represented in the morality and the cultural paraphernalia of modern romantic Indian films.

THE NEW FACTIONS

By the end of the nineteenth century there may have been several

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

During the latter part of the last century there was a transitional phase when neither the size of the gentry family nor its wealth determined its status: its influence derived mainly from its reputation or strength of character, we are told. In this century all Badaga families, whether gentry or not, have a prestige commensurate with their wealth: the unusually affluent family now receives the respect and wields the power of a gentry family even though it is not one.

Generally all the headmen and their key assistants belong to the gentry; and during the nineteenth century the British appointed *manegars* and *karnams* from among the gentry, too.[17] In the twentieth century, as we have seen, literacy was considered more important than birth in these appointments. In fact this century has witnessed a shift away from ascribed status towards achieved status. It is now becoming less relevant whether a man was born to the gentry or is a Ha:ruva or Torea than whether he has acquired college education and a good job. However, even though there are now signs of socio-economic classes emerging, rural Badagas do not yet discuss their social life in terms of such distinctions as landed/landless, wealthy/poor or educated/uneducated. Individuals are known to vary in these qualities but so far the variation is a matter of degree and has not been schematized in Badaga thinking into a series of neat dyadic contrasts.

In the operation of their social system today the Badagas recognize a dozen major criteria for social differentiation,[18] which they do conceive as the following dyadic contrasts:

(1) Man/woman
(2) Adult/child
(3) Nilgiri/non-Nilgiri
(4) Badaga/non-Badaga
(5) Gentry/non-gentry
(6) Lingayat/non-Lingayat
(7) Vegetarian/meat-eater
(8) Our phratry/other phratries
(9) Agnates/affines (or our clan/other clans)
(10) Our village/other villages
(11) Factional divisions
(12) Hindu/Christian.

This classification is one of cross-cutting categories: each person can place himself and everyone he normally interacts with on one side or the other of each category. These are at different levels of

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

of a sociologist, is that—unlike most communities on the subcontinent—the Badagas can be categorized neither as tribe nor as caste. To be precise, they are refugees drawn from several castes in southern Mysore centuries ago, who then consolidated themselves into a community on the Nilgiri Massif and to some extent may have then emulated the social organization of the neighbouring Toda tribe (Hockings 1979a).

The very name *Badaga* means "northerner" in their language, and was clearly applied to them only after they had fled from the plains immediately to the north of the Nilgiris. The reason for this flight is made quite clear in their legends: in A.D. 1565 the Vijayanagar Empire was destroyed by Muslims invading from the north. The ancestral Badagas, fearing for the safety of their womenfolk, fled to the Nilgiris and adopted a tribal type of dress for both sexes. In 1603 a certain Father Finicio, the first European visitor, encountered them on this plateau. He described them (in Portuguese) as as Badegas, and gave the impression that they then numbered 500 to 1,000 people and inhabited no more than three villages (Finicio 1603). Already they had quite a varied mixed-farming economy. The most remarkable accomplishment of the Badagas has been the consummate success with which the community has adapted to and multiplied in surroundings that were initially wild and strange for them, and which lay at an elevation 3,000 to 5,000 feet higher than did their ancestral villages on the Mysore Plain. Their agricultural success has been partly due to their adoption of foreign techniques. Typically European crops are commonly grown today on terraces made with the help of machines. The fields are nourished with artificial fertilizers and the harvest is transported in lorries. These improved techniques have led to a better standard of living and a tendency for fathers to provide their sons with the education that they missed themselves. In the four main towns of the Massif there is now a sizeable Badaga middle class, and many of the men are doctors, lawyers, teachers, or government officials. Although still largely a rural people, speaking a distinct but unwritten Dravidian language, Badagas now have an unusually high rate of literacy in both Tamil and English.

Previous Studies

1.3. It is possible to show in considerable detail how the Badaga

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

ment. Today that environment has changed so much socially, economically and intellectually that the old therapeutic system is becoming an anachronism. This change is not simply attributable to the fact that scientific medicine is viewed as "better" in any objective sense. The number of Badagas who die either in hospitals or after being brought home (often prematurely) from them is sufficient to bolster a suspicion to the contrary. Nonetheless scientific medicine has now become the medicine of the urban middle classes in the Nilgiris, many of whom are professionals and are taken as a positive reference group by the rest of the community in these matters. The most progressive of Badagas are already finding their place in the broader urban culture of modern South India; and in this context reliance on an antiquated, indigenous therapeutic system is seen by increasing numbers as an embarrassing reminder of the primitive past. Despite the greater cost that may be involved, many Badagas now patronize Badaga doctors with degrees in scientific medicine. Since these doctors are pillars of the local urban middle class, support of them may be seen as evidence of class emulation on the part of Badaga peasants.

1.9. The simple model shown in Diagram 2 indicates some major ecological relationships in Badaga culture, the basic flow of energy, and the role of therapy in helping maintain this system.

The etic reality of these energy relationships is indisputable: only a brief survey of the ethnographic descriptions of the Badagas would demonstrate this. Yet the Badagas' own point of view on the business of living colours these relationships with the particular characteristics of a particular culture, and the recording of that emic viewpoint is essential for a fuller understanding of the culture and its therapeutics. I find myself in agreement with Frake that one

> must discover those features of objects and events which they regard as significant for defining concepts, formulating propositions, and making decisions. This conception of an ethnography requires that the units by which the data of observation are segmented, ordered, and interrelated be delimited and defined according to contrasts inherent in the data themselves and not according to a priori notions of pertinent descriptive categories. (Frake 1962 : 54)

In line with this valuable prescription, I will present in this study an

CHAPTER IV

AFFLUENCE AND FAMILY POSITION

554 From the earlier discussion of the juridical system, it should not be assumed that all men, or at least all above the Toreyas, are able to receive equitable treatment under the Badaga judicial system; and that all men within one hamlet -- and therefore belonging to a single phratry -- are equal in status. While such attitudes can easily be elicited from Badagas themselves, they refer only to an ideal which has never been realized in village life. The prestige of a man's family, his wealth, his age and intelligence are factors always likely to override other considerations when a dispute has to be settled, when a faction seeks support, or when a marriage is being arranged. There is a sort of upper class among the Badagas, composed of families who are conspicuous for their prestige, wisdom, piety and size. They are called manethana, a Badagu word which means literally "house-stage" or "house-level", with the implication of prestigeful level, and which can be roughly translated by the English "gentry". It has a cognate manetana in the Kannada of southern Mysore; the dictionary translates this as "Household", "race, family" -- the connotation clearly being a family of worthy people (Kittel 1894: 1207). In Badagu the word is used to identify a Badaga lineage or extended family which is considered to have been descended patrilineally from the original settler of any hamlet. To say a family belongs to the gentry means

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●565 that it has a high status by all of the accepted criteria -- priority of settlement, wisdom, wealth, piety, and absolute size. The distinction between gentry and non-gentry is sufficiently precise that all Badaga families can be allotted to the one category or the other by everyone who knows them. I estimate that during the present century roughly five percent of the community is considered as gentry. The great bulk of the community is non-gentry because its ancestors were not known to be the first settlers in any particular hamlet, or because they were only younger sons in the gentry families.

565 595 (175) Until the middle of the 19th Century, the most prestigious gentry family was the largest family possible. To achieve this ideal men would often have polygynous marriages: in one case (probably a record number for all Badagas) a man had five wives simultaneously, during the early years of this century. In such families it is -- or was -- common for some of the wives to be several decades younger than the husband, in which case they might present him with sons of which he was (178) probably aware that he was not the biological father. Today polygyny is no longer common; nevertheless I know of a gentry family where the husband is now 86 years old, and the youngest of his three wives is 19.

178 565 There was, during the latter part of the last century, a transitional phase in the condition of the gentry, when neither the size of the family nor its wealth was the important determinant of its status; its influence derived primarily from its "strength of character", I was told. This change seems to mark the beginning of a break-away from traditional values which, as we shall see, gained pace in the 565 years following 1913. In the present century all Badaga families, whether consi- 556 dered gentry or not, gain a prestige commensurate with their wealth. If a family is unusually wealthy it now receives the respect and wields the power of a gentry

•565 family even though it is not one: this represents a change from the 19th Century
556 situation. Unlike the members of other phratries, however, a wealthy Toreya
(615) will only receive the respect due to a member of the gentry from the other members of his own phratry. To anyone else he is primarily a Toreya rather than a prestigeful man.

In the arrangement of marriages, although it is obligatory (as we have
582 seen) to take brides from other sibs and is sometimes acceptable to take them from
614 other phratries, it is not common or desirable to take brides from across the divi-
615 sion between gentry and non-gentry. A Kaggusi man, for example, may take a Ganda bride, thereby crossing the limits of his phratry and of the vegetarian community; yet if he is of the gentry his bride should be so too.

The gentry are the only Badaga families who have any compunctions about
587 the remarriage of widowers. No young woman of a gentry family would marry a
565 man who had performed the crucial rice-sprinkling ceremony at the funeral of his previous wife. This is therefore an exception to the usual Badaga practice of allowing remarriage freely to both widowers and widows. If a widower of the
(764) gentry has done this ceremony he can only marry a <u>widow</u> of the gentry. With this in mind, if a widower wants another young wife as soon as his previous wife has died, his <u>brother</u> does the rice-sprinkling ceremony at her funeral instead (provided the parents of the brother's wife agree to it). This is supposed to be a public affirmation that it was really her husband's brother who had supported the dead
(584) woman; although everybody knows that this is a mere fiction. The parents of his
(581) wife must agree to the performance because they might not want their daughter married to a fictional widower, particularly if he too is treated as "gentry"; but they usually agree willingly because it is to the advantage of all concerned

for the real widower to marry a girl capable of adding a number of sons to the family. Thus, provided the previous wife's funeral has been handled in this manner, it is considered ethical for the widower to marry a putative virgin from another family of the gentry.

Generally all of the headmen and headmen's regular assistants belong to the gentry; and during the last century the British officials normally appointed their managers and karnams (i.e. headmen and accountants) from among the gentry too (Grigg 1880: 366).

In keeping with the image of his greater honor, wisdom and prestige, a member of the gentry receives rather different treatment than an ordinary man at the hands of the Badaga judicial council. Traditional Badaga law holds the individual responsible for his acts, and treats him as the offender if he is found guilty of some crime. Among the gentry, on the other hand, the head of the family is responsible for the acts of all members of his family even though he may know nothing about them. This was vividly illustrated by a case in 1963, which I will quote from my field-notes.

"Belli is the traditional headman of a Badaga hamlet and, as he is the eldest of several brothers, he is also head of his family, which is considered a gentry family. One day he met his friend Lingan, a prominent elder from the neighboring hamlet. They were on a footpath in the fields belonging to Lingan's people. Without any prior explanation or greeting, Lingan abused Belli roundly for his despicable behavior. Belli was taken aback, and questioned him about the meaning of this outburst. He thus learned that one of his brothers had just kicked a Tamilian boy employed by the neighboring hamlet to look after their cattle. Normally Lingan would not have concerned himself with a minor hurt done to a non-Badaga in his hamlet; but in this case, because the boy was employed by the hamlet

159 as a whole, the implication of the kick was that it was a direct insult to Lingan's
565 entire hamlet. And because the man who had given the kick was a member of the
672 gentry, the insult was considered to have come from his entire family. Knowing
592 all this, Lingan felt justified in making the attack on his friend. Belli recognized
(558) this fact and did not try to evade the implication; for to do so might bring his status
(627) as a member of the gentry into question. Belli therefore meekly apologized for his
brother's behavior and, as he is a headman himself, thereupon fined himself four
annas (5¢ U.S.) without calling any council to discuss the incident. He immediately
handed the sum over to Lingan; but later gave his brother a stern lecture about his
indiscretion."

This case makes a good illustration for the Badaga proverb, "The prestige
565 of a great man can depend on a small boy." The people expect more honorable,
672 even exemplary, behavior from the gentry than from others; and this expectation
592 applies as much to younger members of the gentry as to their elders. The rule
making the head of a gentry family responsible for the behavior of all its members
thus constrains the younger members to behave in a way that will not dishonor the
(558) family head and thus the family reputation. If younger sons err seriously, they
are likely to be disinherited and lose the claim to the status of gentry.

During the hearing of disputes a council is normally confronted with con-
554 tradictory evidence. Whenever this happens they tend to evaluate the evidence not
695 only in terms of any sort of abstract logical consistency, but also with respect to
(562) the social status of the people presenting the evidence. The rules for evaluating
(565) contradictory evidence are therefore, I was told, that a headman should be believed
(609) before any other man, a higher-level (e.g. divisional) headman before a lower-
(561) level one, a man should be believed before a woman, a member of the gentry or

any wealthy man should be believed before some ordinary man, a Badaga should be believed before a non-Badaga (other factors being relatively equal), a small boy should be believed before an adult, but an old man should be believed before a younger one. Until about 1940 utterances from ghosts or gods (spoken through possessed mediums) were treated as reliable evidence, more reliable indeed than anything men might say.

Badagas are familiar with the phenomenon of in-group solidarity, as it regularly finds graphic illustration in the hearing of village disputes. A man is so dependent upon the support of his family in a dispute, as well as in his daily ritual observances, that it is normally assumed -- unless he is disputing with his own brother -- that he will not lie to his family about anything. So if Kadan, for example, is engaged in a dispute with Rangan over the shifting of a field boundary, Kadan can expect his family's support in the matter even though they all know that his evidence is a complete fabrication; indeed the whole family stands to gain if Kadan wins the case, provided the family estate remains undivided until then. If Rangan is from another lineage than Kadan (and the dispute is sufficiently important, we might add), each man may win the active support of his entire lineage. Similarly in a dispute between two men of different hamlets, each man's hamlet will typically support him in the dispute even though his claim is known to be false. At the level of inter-village disputes the support from an entire hamlet may be forthcoming only because everybody feels the reputation of his own hamlet is at stake; few would look for material gains in the situation. The fixing of village boundaries by the Revenue Board during the 1880's obviated the possibility of an inter-village dispute over field boundaries; but important conflicts can still arise over marriage and divorce, inheritance, debt and interest, theft, and a variety of

578 [657] insults and personal grievances. As we shall see, the fact that in-group solidarity is so strongly manifested in disputes ostensibly between two individuals is a common psychological basis for the growth of Badaga factional divisions, which typically evolve out of family feuds.

554 631 [621] [565] Historically and to some extent socially the hamlet can be seen as an extension of its gentry, its founding family: Tuneri, for example, is said to be an important village <u>because</u> its headman is the most important of all Nilgiri headmen. This is an understandable position, for every resident of Tuneri is potentially more influential than people living in a hamlet with a relatively inferior headman. But Tuneri is also an unusually large village, and this fact gives it added prestige. In the same way that a family of the gentry used to increase in prestige by increasing its numbers, a hamlet can do likewise by an increase in population. This is simply because, in the traditional setting, the headman would receive more money gifts at the weddings of girls from his village, more income from fining his villagers, and the chance of a substantial "rake-off" when he collected grain to give to the Todas and Kurumbas at each harvest. This attitude finds clear expression in a Badaga saying: "If the number of his subjects increases, the headman of the village will become a big man."

631 661 662 During the last century, before Badagas had started to use the British court system (there was only one magistrate's court in the Nilgiris), they were entirely dependent on their own headmen for favorable treatment in the hearing of disputes. In those days, whenever a headman visited another village, he could expect much more generous hospitality than he would receive today, since it might prove necessary later to look to him for support in a case. The hospitable treatment typically consisted of a big feast, to which was often added a night with whichever of the village girls he chose. Feasting, girls, cloth and money might also be

631 used prior to the hearing of a dispute to gain an adjudicating headman's favor.
661
662 Within prescribed limits, antisocial behavior is an individual's misfortune, rather than a reflection on the character of his lineage or hamlet. In the case of
558 misbehavior by a member of the gentry, however, the prestige of his whole family
[565] is involved. Apart from the small minority -- perhaps five percent -- who belong to the gentry, as we have seen, wrong-doers are held responsible for their own acts and punishable for them. A family which contains a miscreant or a girl of loose morals will generally lose little prestige; for, as a proverb understandingly puts the matter, "In good soil the crop will grow better, and so will the weeds." For this reason the family of a man hanged for murder, for example, would still give him a respectful funeral and invite many guests (who would show no hesitation in coming). The same holds true in the case of a man who died as a Hindu after
558 having earlier been a Christian convert. If, on the other hand, any lineage pro-
613 duces more than two or three miscreants or notably loose women within a space of a few years, then the whole lineage does lose prestige and influence. The isolated case can be overlooked, but repeated delinquency within one lineage becomes difficult to pardon.

To summarize the chapter thus far: we have seen that an upper class of
565 families exists, consisting of certain patrilineal descendants of the Badagas who founded each settlement. These families provided the headmen and sometimes other functionaries; they still try to maintain an image of higher ethical standards and greater prosperity and power; but at the same time the entire family can be held responsible for the misdeeds of any member, whereas among other Badagas this is not usually so.

463 554 [515] all pubic hair (though Badaga women do it for themselves) because it is thought unesthetic and is found to harbor lice and ticks. The disgrace attached to this occupation is well displayed in one of the great expressions of Badaga disdain: "What can you do? -- You can't even shave my cock!" Badagas who are forced to take up barbering because of poverty never make a full-time occupation of it, especially as professional barbers are now generally available from other communities. So far as scavenging is concerned, there is no need at all to remove night soil from the houses, because Badagas always defecate either in the fields and bushes, or in a special manure pit. The feces of small children are not considered polluting and are easily removed from the house by anyone. All other cleaning and sweeping around the house is done by the womenfolk living there.

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Those Badagas who are neither gentry nor in the poverty-stricken category show some signs of having achieved upward mobility over the past century or so. There was traditionally a class of gentry, as we know, that was distinguished by higher prestige and higher behavioral expectations. On the other hand there was in all likelihood no class of poverty-stricken Badagas obliged to become barbers or launderers until land pressure and the settlement of boundaries in the 1880's had made it difficult for the disinherited and landless to find new farming land. Only in the 80 or 90 years since that period has this landless class emerged at the bottom of the status hierarchy. And as it emerged, the prestige of the gentry was continuously on the wane. Both changes were related, as we shall see, to increasing Badaga involvement in the Indian cash economy. The middle class of peasant families seems slowly to have decreased the gap in conduct and prestige that separated them from the gentry families; until now the cash income of a family is the clearest mark of its influence in the community. The aristocratic values of

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the gentry are now of little relevance; and the gentry with most prestige today are those who have adapted best to the opportunities of the cash economy.

582 days the most affluent and prestigeful families were the gentry, and gentry boys
583 normally married only the daughters of the gentry. Today a wealthy Badaga, whe-
(178) ther of the gentry or not, will often be willing to pay a dowry in order to marry his daughter into another wealthy family.

178 The wealthiest of Badaga families today are not necessarily members of
554 the gentry at all, although formerly this was always true. It is the wealthy par-
•565 venus who have recently supplanted the traditional gentry in the ability to wield maximum influence and political power. How have such families become wealthy?
556 As we have seen (Chapter VI), some have been able to plant large areas with tea or coffee, and these estates have brought in tremendous profits; others have become contractors for various building projects -- the Nilgiri railway and the army barracks being major cases of this. Others again are middlemen, distributing fertilizers or dealing in potato crops. Yet others have been making money from the large-scale distribution of illicitly made liquor, ever since prohibition was ins-
454 tituted directly after Independence. Regardless of the way in which the money was acquired in the first place, it is wherever possible invested in tea or coffee plantations, or perhaps in privately owned bus-lines. Such new-found capital is some-
(554) times invested in Badaga businesses in Ootacamund or Coonoor, as well. Another type of investment is in the support of sons studying at universities; and this can
554 bring high prestige to a family in a short period of time. Men who can obtain deg-
871 rees in medicine or law are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, but
(556) those who manage to get only a B.A. or a B.Sc., whether by bribery or by hard work, find that it brings some prestige but rarely any additional income. Upwardly mobile families now wish their sons to take at least a bachelor's degree, but afterwards expect the graduates to settle down in their home villages again and

342 between the front room and kitchen (oganasnai) is typically arched. Over the kitchen fireplace, opposite the door, there is usually a flat 251 353 woven bamboo and cowdunged drying basket measuring three or more feet across. This is especially useful for drying grains during monsoons. Near the front kitchen wall there may be a sacred hagotu for milk storage and processing, but many houses no longer have this feature. (562) If a hagotu is absent, the front portion of the kitchen is still considered sacred and for men only. An upper storage platform (atlu) 342 usually covers all or a portion of the kitchen. This and small upper storage platforms covering portions of the front room are reached by a ladder which is sometimes set permanently into the central wall with arched door. As in Jagor's time, there is usually a porch to one side of the entranceway. The calf stall on the other side is now replaced by a porch, guest room with or without a fireplace, or a storeroom. Thus, if there is a right entranceway, there will be a porch to the right, and one of the above-mentioned features will replace the stall to the left. This relationship is exactly reversed when there is a left entranceway.

(565) The traditional house type may be modified. Poorer families, or individuals sharing the inherited parental home, may dwell within half-houses formed by sealing in the arched doorway of the central partition. Two arched doorways are then built into two walls constructed about three-fifths the interior distance back from the front wall. The small back rooms will serve as kitchens (Figure 17). Sometimes the basic floor plan is maintained, but the house is so enlarged that its front and back walls no longer are aligned with walls